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III.—THE *ie*-SOUND IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES IN ENGLISH.

There were, as is well known, two distinct sounds of long *e* in Anglo-Saxon, and these two sounds continued in Middle English. That these two sounds of *ē* were quite clearly differentiated during the entire Middle English period, and that not until Modern English times were they confused under the common phonetic *ī*-sound, are facts equally well known. The graphic representation of the two sounds in question did, however, differ in Anglo-Saxon times, but in Middle English times the difference is not so clearly indicated by the symbols employed. For example, in early Middle English, in the Southern and Kentish dialects the open *ē* (*ĕ*) was graphically represented by *ea*, as a rule, occasionally by *e*, and the close *ē* by *eo* and *e*; in the Midland dialects, the open *ē* by *æ* and *ea* generally and by *e* occasionally, the close *ē* by *eo* and *e*, while in the Northern dialect no distinction in writing was made between the open and close *ē*, both being represented by *e* and *ee* indifferently. It ought perhaps to be said, however, that the Kentish was more tenacious of the old diphthongs than the Southern dialect was, and so preserved them much more faithfully. In late Middle English, as, for example, the dialect of Chaucer, we find generally the simplified forms used, *e*, *ee*; and occasionally *ie* for the close *ē* occurs, and *ea*, though very rarely, for the open *ē*. Later, about the 16th century, an attempt was made to distinguish in writing between the open and close *ē*'s, which in late Middle English were of course much confused in writing, and so *ee* came to be restricted to the representation of the old close *ē*, while *ea* (a traditional Southern spelling) was used to represent the open sound. This is the rule, to which there are of course exceptions. Witness the following: *dear*, from AS. *dēor* (close diphthong); *dreary*, from AS. *drēorig*; Palsgrave's¹ *beere* (= Mod. English *bier*), from AS. *bēr*; Palsgrave's *leed* (= Mod. English *lead*), from AS. *lēad*; Palsgrave's *heed* (= Mod. English *head*), from AS. *hēafod*, etc.

¹ Palsgrave was one of the early orthographists. Cf. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, I, p. 77.

Now, in addition to the symbol *ee* used to represent the close *ē*-sound, still another occurred sporadically, viz. *ie*, which survives in a goodly number of words in present English, as *achieve*, *achievement*, *believe*, *belief*, *bier*, *biestings*, *brief*, *ciel*, *chief* (and its compounds), *fief*, *field*, *fierce* (and its compounds), *fiend*, *friend*, *grief*, *grieve*, *lief*, *liege*, *piece*, *pier*, *pierce*, *priest*, *relief*, *relieve*, *reprieve*, *shield*, *shriek*, *siege*, *sieve*, *tierce*, *wield*, *yield*, etc. The object of this paper is to investigate the origin and history of this graphic representative of the close *ē*-sound in accented syllables.

The origin of the sound denoted by the symbol *ie* must be considered first of all. We know that there existed in Anglo-Saxon the two diphthongs *ie* and *ze*, of which, like all AS. diphthongs, the first element bore the stress. Now, these diphthongs are unlike the AS. diphthongs *ēa* and *ēo* in that the latter have correspondents in the Primitive Germanic *au* and *eu*, while *ze* and *ie* have no such correspondents, but have their origin in Anglo-Saxon. They have therefore arisen from the phonetic laws which were operative in early Anglo-Saxon. In fact, both of the diphthongs in question are really characteristic peculiarities of a certain dialect of Anglo-Saxon, viz. early West Saxon. In the regular WS. texts *ze* and *ie* are of rather rare occurrence, having been replaced at an early period by unstable *ī* and *ī*, which in turn were replaced later by *ȳ* and *y*. These last are characteristic peculiarities of late West Saxon. Cf. Sievers' Grammar of Old English, trans. by Cook, §41. But notwithstanding the fact that *ze* and *ie* are peculiar to West Saxon, they yet occur sporadically elsewhere, as, for instance, in the Epinal and Cambridge Glosses: *fierst*, *orfiermae*, *georwierdid*, *hunhieri*, *aliesat*, *ȳiendi*. See Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 496, where these forms are collected, with references to the glosses contained in the same text. Compare further F. Dieter, Ueber Sprache und Mundart der ältesten englischen Denkmäler, der Epinaler und Cambridger Glossen, §§24, 26.

A.—Short *ie* in Anglo-Saxon arose from the following sources (Sievers' Grammar, §42):

1. From the *i*-umlaut of *ea*, the breaking of Germanic *a*: *bieldeo* 'boldness,' from AS. *beald*, cf. OHG. *bald*, *bēldi*; *cwielman* 'to kill, to torture,' from AS. *cwealm*, cf. OS. *quelmian*, *qualm*; *dierne* 'hidden,' cf. AS. *dearnunga*, OS. *derni*, OHG. *tarni*;

iergðo 'laziness,' from AS. *earg* + suffix *iþō*, cf. OHG. *arg*; *ierming* 'wretch,' *iermðu* 'misery,' from AS. *earm* + *iþō* (Kluge, N. S. §122); *ieldra*, *ieldesta* 'older, oldest,' *ieldu* 'age,' all from AS. *eald* 'old'; *hliehhan* 'to laugh,' cf. Goth. *hlahjan*, OHG. *hlahhan*; *slielt* 'battle' (*i*-stem), cf. the form *sleahrt*, OHG. *slahta*; *wielisc* 'foreign,' from AS. *wealh*, cf. OHG. *walhisc*, *walh*. So likewise 3d sing. *wiexð*, *sliexð*, *ðwiehð*, *wielð*, etc., from *weaxan*, *slean*, *ðwean*, *weallan*, etc.

2. From the *i*-umlaut of *eo*, breaking of Germ. *e*: *afierran* 'to remove,' from AS. *feorr*, cf. OS. *ferr*, OHG. *fairra*; *hierde* 'herdsman' (*jo*-stem), from AS. *heord*, cf. OHG. *herta*, Goth. *hairda*; *ierre* 'angry' (*jo*-stem), cf. OHG. *irri*, Goth. *airzeis* 'astray'; *fierst* 'time,' with metathesis of *r*, from *frist*, cf. OS., OHG. *frist*; *liehtan* 'to make light, to lighten,' from *leoht*, *lioht*, cf. Goth. *leihts*; *wierðe* 'worthy,' from AS. *weorð*, cf. OHG. *werd*, Goth. *wairþs*; *wiercan* 'to work,' from AS. *weorc*, cf. OS. *werk*, Goth. *waurkjan*. So belongs here the comp. *wiersa* 'worse,' cf. Goth. *wairsiza*.

3. From the *i*-umlaut of *ea* after palatals: *ciefes* 'concubine,' from **ceafis*, **cæfis*, cf. OHG. *kebisa*; *ciele* 'cold,' from **ceali*, **cæli*, cf. Goth. *kalds*; *giest* 'guest,' from **geasti* (*i*-stem), **gæsti*, cf. Goth. *gasts*; *scieppan* 'to create,' from **sceappjan* for **scæppjan*, cf. Goth. *skapjan*. So, also, *cietel* 'kettle,' *sciell* 'shell,' belong here.

4. From *e*, Germ. *e*, after palatals, as *sc'*, *c'*, *g'*: *giefan* 'to give,' *giefu* 'gift,' from **gefan*, **gefu*, cf. OHG. *geban*, *geba*; *giellan* 'to yell,' from **gellan*, cf. OHG. *gellan*; *gieldan* 'to yield,' *gielt* 'offering,' from **geldan*, cf. OS. *geldan*, *geld*; *scieran* 'to cut,' from **sceran*, cf. OHG. *sceran*. So belong here *gietan* 'to obtain,' *gielp* 'boasting,' *gielpa* 'to boast,' *gied* 'song,' *scielt* 'shield,' etc., from **getan*, **gelpan*, **ged*, **sceld*, etc.

5. From palatal umlaut of *eo*, the breaking of Germ. *e* before *h* + consonant: *cnieht* 'servant,' from older *cneohht*, cf. OHG. *kneht*; *riecht* 'right,' from older *reoht*, cf. OHG. *reht*; *siex* 'six,' from older *seox*, cf. OHG. *sehs*; *wriexl* 'change,' from older *wreoxl*.

6. From a rare form of the *o*, *u*-umlaut of *i*: *siendum*, pl. of verb *bēon* 'to be,' regular form *sind*; *ðiessum*, dat. of pronoun *ðes* 'this,' usual form *ðissum*.

It will be seen, therefore, that *ie* does not represent an original Germanic diphthong, but has its origin entirely in Anglo-Saxon.

It has been produced mostly by umlaut and the influence of palatals, and the original vowels which, under the operation of these phonological laws in Anglo-Saxon, have generally given rise to *ie* are Germ. *e* and *a*.

B.—Long *ie* in Anglo-Saxon arose from the following sources :

1. From the *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, which represents Primitive Germanic *au*, the open diphthong: *bīecnan* 'to beckon,' from substantive *bēacen*; *bīetel* 'beetle, mall,' from **bēatīl*, cf. AS. *bēatan*; *diegel* 'secret,' *diegelness*, *diegellice*, etc., cf. OHG. *tougali*; *gēhefan* 'to believe,' AS. *gelēafa*, cf. Goth. *galaubjan*; *hēahst* 'highest,' superl. of *hēah*, Goth. *hauhs* (so *hīera*, comp.); *hīeran* 'to hear,' cf. Goth. *hausjan*; *līg* 'flame' (*i*-stem), cf. OHG. *loug*; *nīeten* 'small animal,' from *nēat* 'cattle' (for diminutive suffix *-īna* see Kluge, N. S., §57); *nīed* 'need' (*i*-stem), cf. Goth. *naups*, ON. *nauð(r)*; *īewan* 'to show,' beside *ēawan*, cf. Goth. *augjan*, *augō*. Of course the 3d sing. of the ablaut verbs *hēawan*, *hlēapan*, *bēatan* etc., *hīewð* etc., belong here.

2. From the *i*-umlaut of *ēo*, which represents Primitive Germanic *eu*, the close diphthong: *strīenan* 'to obtain,' from *gestrēon* 'possession,' cf. OHG. *gistrīunen*; *getrīewe* 'faithful, true,' from *trēow* 'faith'; *ðiestre* 'gloomy,' from *ðēostru*, *ðēostor* 'darkness,' cf. OS. *thiustri*; *liehtan* 'to illuminate,' from *lēoht* 'light' (see Sievers' Gr., §100). Also belong here theoretically the 3d sing. of verbs of ablaut class II, as *cīest*, from *cēosan*, etc., etc.

NOTE.—The *ie* in *frīend*, *fīend*, dat., nom. pl. of *frēond*, *fēond*, represents the *i*-umlaut of an *ēo* which is the result of contraction; cf. Sievers' Gram., §114.

The *ie* in *cīese* has arisen from *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, developed from *æ*, Lat. *ā*, through the influence of the palatal *c*, thus: *cīese*, from **cēasi*, from **cāsi*, from Vulg. Lat. *cāsius*. Cf. Sievers' Gram., §75, 2; Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 309; Pogatscher, Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen, Quellen und Forschungen, 64, p. 212.

Sporadically *ie* occurs for Germ. *ī*, as in *īedel*, *onhrīene*, *īeie*, *tiema*, etc., for regular *īdel*, *onhrīne*, *īee*, *tīma*, etc. Cf. Cosijn, Altwestsächsische Grammatik, §70.

It will be readily observed that *ie*, like *ie*, does not represent an original Germanic diphthong, but has arisen solely from the

operation of the laws of Anglo-Saxon phonology. This diphthong has even fewer sources than the short *ie* has. The principal law or process that has operated to give rise to *ie* is *i*-umlaut. The two sounds which by this process of umlaut have produced *ie* are the AS. open and close diphthongs *ēa* (= Germ. *au*) and *ēo* (= Germ. *eu*).

As to the quality of the diphthong *ie*, it is difficult to say just what its phonetic value was. Of course, it is well known that this early WS. diphthong appeared in non-WS. texts as *ē*, a close vowel, and that even in late WS. it was reduced to a monophthong. According to Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, §474, this monophthong was an open sound. It does not, however, seem perfectly clear that in all cases this sound was open. At all events, surely the *ie* arising from the *i*-umlaut of the diphthong *ēo* was not originally an open sound, for the diphthong *ēo* was certainly close (the *ē* being Sweet's mid-front-narrow, long), and the *i* was also close (Sweet's high-front-narrow), and from the very nature of umlaut, being as it is a kind of imperfect assimilation, an open sound could hardly have resulted. It is to be borne in mind, of course, that the AS. diphthongs were all falling diphthongs—that is, the stress fell on the first element and not on the second—a fact which would speak for the close quality of the diphthong in question. If, however, we should grant that an open sound resulted from the *i*-umlaut of *ēo*, we must assume that in its subsequent development it was narrowed, because it was later reduced to a monophthong represented first by *ī* and then by *ȳ*, both close sounds. There was probably a difference between the pure AS. *ī*-sound and the so-called unstable *ī*-sound, and if with Sweet we assume the regular AS. *ī* to have been close, the unstable *ī* arising from the monophthonging of *ie* was perhaps somewhat rounded. The fact, too, that *ie* as a rule gave rise to a close sound in Middle English is presumptive evidence for close quality in Anglo-Saxon. The *ie* arising from AS. *ēa*, open diphthong, may have been open originally. But since two *ie*-sounds cannot be demonstrated for Anglo-Saxon, we must assume that the *ie* from *ēo*, and the *ie* from *ēa*, were of the same quality in West Saxon. What has been said of *ie* applies equally well also to *ie*.

In Middle English the problem before us assumes a different aspect. We here have to deal with the question of French influence in the history of *ie*. Under the general tendency of all

AS. diphthongs towards simplification in Middle English, the few WS. *ie*-diphthongs that remained would naturally be reduced to monophthongs, so that one might expect this to be the end of *ie*. But such is not the case. As a matter of fact, *ie* occurs with comparative frequency in one of the Middle English dialects, the Kentish, and often with the apparent value of close *ē*. The Kentish, it will be remembered, unlike the other ME. dialects, generally preserved the old AS. diphthongs. Now, we know that the old Kentish dialect did not exhibit the diphthongs *ie* and *īe*, so that the *ie* which occurs in this dialect in Middle English must be traced to another source. In a word, then, the AS. (WS.) *īe*, *ie* were simplified into *ī*, *ī*, which later were represented by *ȝ*, *y*, and here the old WS. diphthongs *īe*, *ie* end. But this same symbol is found in Middle English, where, however, it is used to represent the AS. close *ēo* generally, and occasionally other sounds. In Middle English in general it has the value of a monophthong.

In order to show more clearly the sphere and use of this *ie* in Middle English, I have examined representative texts of the several ME. dialects, the results of which examination now follow.

Kentish Dialect.

In the early Kentish, especially in the Kentish sermons,¹ occur the following forms in which *ie* represents AS. *ēo*: *bien* (AS. *bēon* 'to be'), pp. 26, 33; *bieð* (plural), pp. 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, etc.; *biedh* (idem), p. 31; *bie*, pp. 31, 34, etc.; *dieule* (AS. *dēofol* 'devil'), p. 28; *forbiet* (AS. *forbēot*), p. 32; *niedes*, *nyede* (AS. *nēod* 'need,' WS. *nīed*), p. 32, etc.

In the later Kentish, especially in the Ayenbite of Inwytt, occur the following forms: *viend* (AS. *fēond* 'enemy'), p. 158; *hier* (AS. *hēr* 'here'), pp. 146, 150, 160, etc.; *fieleness* (OFr. *fiéble* 'feeble,' Anglo-Norman *feble*), pp. 148, 157, etc.; *niede* (AS. *nēod*, WS. *nīed*), pp. 142, 149, 155, 164, etc.; *niedvoll*, p. 151; *dyeppnesse* (AS. *dēop* 'deep'), pp. 105, 211; *dyepe*, p. 211, etc.; *piestre* (AS. *ðēostre* 'dark,' WS. *ðīestre*), p. 159; *piesternessee*, p. 201; *piesterliche*, p. 244; *piefðe* (AS. *ðēof* 'thief'), pp. 9, 38, 192; *tiene* (AS. *tēon* 'anger'), pp. 31, 66, 124, etc.; *pyeve* (pl. *pyeves*), pp. 37, 263; *wyefde* (AS. *wēofod* 'altar'), pp. 14, 236, etc.; *wryeð* (AS. *wrēon* 'to cover'), pp. 61, 175; *hiere*, *hyere* (AS. *hēran*, WS.

¹ Old English Miscellany, ed. by R. Morris, E. E. T. S. 1872.

hieran 'to hear'), pp. 20, 54, 72, 122, 209, 210, 257, etc.; *chiere* (OFr. *chere*, *chiere* 'cheer'), pp. 155, 193; *chiese* (AS. *cēosan* 'to choose'), pp. 45, 86, 93, 101, etc.; *chiewe* (AS. *cēowan* 'to chew'), p. 111; *clier*, *clierliche*, etc. (OFr. *cler* 'clear'), pp. 24, 78, 88, 104, 155, 159, 167, 174, 243, etc.; *dyere* (AS. *dēor* 'dear'), pp. 36, 68, 79, 123, 133, 194, etc.; *liese* (AS. *forlēosan* 'to lose'), p. 214; *lierne*, *lierni* (AS. *leornan*, late WS. *lēornan* 'to learn'), pp. 73, 209; *zyeð*, *sieð*, etc. (AS. *sēon* 'to see'), pp. 16, 150, 231, 244, etc. So also *lief* (AS. *lēof*), *grief* (OFr. *grefe*, *grief*), *siege* (OFr. *siege*), etc.

It is very obvious that the Kentish *ie*, as the above list shows, represents in most cases AS. *ēo*, occasionally AS. *ē* (WS. *īe*), and often OFr. *ie* or *e*, all of which in Middle English are close sounds. The quality of this *ie* in Kentish seems therefore close.

Southern Dialect.

In this dialect the text examined was the Ancren Riwe. The *ie* was found to occur very rarely. Examples are: *wrien* (AS. *wrēon* 'to cover'), pp. 58, 84, 86; *unwrien*, p. 328; *iwrien*, p. 388; *drien* (AS. *drēogan* 'to endure'), pp. 80, 112, 134, 348, 358, 376, 430; *hien* (AS. *higian* 'to hasten'), pp. 92, 326, 368; *lien* (AS. *licgan* 'to lie'), p. 290; *wieles* (AS. *wīgel* 'deceit'), pp. 92, 224, 268; *wielare* ('deceiver'), p. 106; *stien* (AS. *stīgan*), pp. 356, 362, 400; *nie*, *niepe* (AS. *nīgeðe* 'ninth'), pp. 9, 198, 236. So *twies*, pp. 70, 324; *pries*, p. 324; *aspieden* (OFr. *espier* 'to lie in wait'), p. 196; *crie* (Fr. *crier* 'to cry'), p. 136; *diete* (Fr. *diet*), p. 112.

This *ie* is of a different character from that already discussed which occurs in Kentish. This *ie* is really, in most cases, *i+e*; that is to say, the *e* is no part of a diphthong, but is simply the *e* of the final syllable, and the *i* represents AS. *i*. So, then, we may say that the early Southern dialect does not exhibit *ie* as a representative of the AS. *ēo*, or *ē*, or of the Old French diphthong *ie*. The absence of *ie* as representing the OFr. diphthong *ie* is very remarkable, inasmuch as French influence is so very patent in the spelling of the Ancren Riwe.

East Midland Dialect.

The text examined in this dialect was of course the Ormulum, and, strange to say, it exhibits no cases of *ie*. The AS. *ēo* is here preserved in the unsimplified form, or is represented by the simplified *e*.

West Midland Dialect.

This dialect stands about on the same footing as the East Midland in regard to *ie*. Layamon, the text used, exhibits few or no cases of *ie* for AS. *eo*, or the OFr. diphthong *ie*. Two or three cases of *ie* were found, as *biere* (= *bore*, past tense of *bear*), B, p. 106; *cwiene* (= *queen*), B, l. 4379; but since both of these occur in the later MS, which is confessedly corrupt, we may say that the West Midland dialect does not exhibit *ie*.

Northern Dialect.

The texts examined in this dialect are not coeval with those examined in the other dialects. They are of a later date. One of these, the Cursor Mundi, exhibits no cases of *ie* except a very few unsatisfactory cases, such as *ie* in *Gabriel, lien, pier* (= *their*), l. 5938, and *squier*, ll. 7717, 7763. Instead of *ie* the Cursor Mundi, especially the Cotton and Goettingen MSS, often exhibits *ei*, which sometimes appears to be used where we should expect *ie*. Examples are: *yeir* (C.), ll. 6893, 6917; *beist* (C.), l. 6781; *preist* (G.), ll. 6805, 6947; *weild* riming with *yeild* (C.), l. 6741; *feild* riming with *yeild* (C., G.), ll. 6761, 7464; *freind* (G.), ll. 7097, 7101, (C., G.) l. 9651; *weird, fleirand, yeit, biheild, eild, forleit, sceind, meind, keiser*, etc.

The other text read is Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, which does exhibit a few cases of *ie*. They are as follows: *griefe* riming with *lyfe*, l. 749, riming with *gyfe*, ll. 4260, 6932; *lyefe* riming with *grefe*, l. 4352, with *gryefe*, ll. 4645, 7436, 8153; *mysbelyefe* riming with *griefe*, l. 5520; *gryeved* riming with *lyved*, l. 5615.

These few sporadic occurrences of *ie*, if they are really not due to Southern influence, are entirely insufficient to establish a rule. We may therefore say that *ie* was not used in the Northern dialect.

The result of the foregoing investigation of the several ME. dialects shows, then, quite conclusively that in early Middle English the use of *ie* was confined almost exclusively to the Kentish dialect, where it generally, though not invariably, represented the close *ē*-sound. The expression 'early Middle English' is employed advisedly, because in late Middle English the symbol *ie* ceased to be confined to the Kentish and became of quite frequent occurrence elsewhere, as, for example, in the dialect of the Old English Homilies¹ of the 13th century and in Chaucer. The Homilies, which probably belong to the South-

¹ Edited by Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society, 1872.

east Midland and show some Kentish influence, exhibit such forms as the following; *bieð* 'be,' *bien*, *ðiesternesne*, *bihield*, *giede* 'went,' *pieð* 'thrive,' *hielden*, *criepeð*, *liefe*, *lief*, *dievel*, *hie* 'they,' *rieweð* 'rue,' *forgiet*, *hie* 'she,' *biwiep*, *wiep* 'wept,' *wield*, *gier* 'year,' *gieve*, *nieht*, etc.

To Chaucer, because of his obvious importance in the consideration of the problem before us, and in order to prove clearly the value of this *ie* as phonetic close *ē*, it has seemed advisable to give a more detailed consideration. The following result of Chaucer's¹ use of *ie* is therefore given:—

<i>believe</i>	rimes with <i>repreve</i> ; cf. Wyfe of Bathes Tale, l. 322.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>heere</i> ; cf. Man of Lawes Tale, l. 650.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>heere</i> ; cf. Clerke of Oxfordes Tale, Prol., l. 58.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>preef</i> ; cf. Prol. Wyfe of Bathes Tale, l. 248.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>preef</i> ; cf. Prol. Maunciples Tale, l. 77.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>preef</i> ; cf. Chanounes Yemannes T., l. 368.
<i>hiewe</i>	" <i>trewe</i> ; cf. Freres T., l. 322; Prol. Pard. T., l. 134.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>greef</i> ; cf. Sompnoures Tale, l. 490.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>frere</i> ; cf. Sompnoures Tale, ll. 520, 588.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>cheere</i> ; cf. Clerke of Oxford, Prol., l. 8.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>cheere</i> ; cf. Prol. Monkes Tale, l. 35.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>deere</i> ; cf. Clerke Ox. T. II 124; March. T., l. 440.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>manere, deere</i> ; cf. Clerke Ox. T. II 138, III 141.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>manere</i> ; cf. Canterbury Tales, end.
<i>squiere</i>	" <i>sopere</i> ; cf. Frank. Tale, l. 473.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>heere</i> ; cf. Doctor of Phisikes Tale, l. 176.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>heere</i> ; cf. Prol. Monk. T., l. 96.
<i>matiere</i>	" <i>heere</i> ; cf. Prol. Pars. T., l. 36.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>agreef</i> ; cf. Nonne Prest. T., l. 73.
<i>meschief</i>	" <i>theef</i> ; cf. Mauncp. T., l. 130.
<i>piere</i>	" <i>manere</i> ; cf. Prol. Personnes T., l. 68.
<i>achieved</i>	" <i>agreved</i> ; cf. Rom. of Rose, l. 2050.
<i>hiene</i>	" <i>betwene</i> ; cf. Minor Poems, p. 291.
<i>agryefe</i>	" <i>mischief, lief</i> ; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 583-6.
<i>whiel</i>	" <i>stiel</i> ; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 295.
<i>lief</i>	" <i>grief</i> ; cf. Tr. and Cr. III 814.
<i>wierdes</i>	" <i>hierdes</i> ; cf. Tr. and Cr. III 570.
<i>stiel</i>	" <i>whiel</i> ; cf. Tr. and Cr. IV 297.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>chiere</i> ; cf. Frankl. Tale, l. 618.
<i>hiere</i>	" <i>matiere</i> ; cf. Nonne Prest. T., ll. 431, 442.

¹ The edition upon which text this investigation is based is Morris's.

In addition to the above examples of *ie* in rime, some instances of its use in the body of the verse may be cited as showing, not its phonetic quality, but its sphere and source. Examples are: *friend*, *friendly*, cf. Dream, 825, 1075, 1141, 2093, etc.; *shield*, cf. Tr. and Cres. IV 431, Flower and Leaf, 255, etc.; *coverchief*, cf. Wyfe of Bathes T., 162; *frie* (AS. *frîo*), cf. Wyfe of Bathes T., 488; *stiel*, cf. Tr. and Cres. IV 431; *riede*, cf. House of Fame, III 131; *fioble*, cf. Tr. and Cres. V 1222; *lief*, *lieve*, cf. Tr. and Cres. III 596, 820 (see Nonne Prest. T., l. 257, etc.); *chiere*, cf. Clerkes T. III 87; *fiers*, *fiersly*, cf. Tr. and Cres. III 1711, V 1820, etc.; *matier*, cf. March. Tale, l. 273; *chierte*, cf. Frankl. Tale, 153; *grief*, cf. Tr. and Cres., l. 813; *siege*, cf. Dream, l. 457, etc.

Now, first of all it should perhaps be said that *ie* does not occur very frequently in Chaucer, or in any other ME. text, for that matter. The rimes show clearly that Chaucer regarded *ie* merely as the equivalent of close \bar{e} , and not as a diphthong. The symbol *ie* does not stand for the open \bar{e} . It is used to represent generally AS. $\bar{e}o$, as in *friend*, *whiel*, *lief*, etc., or WS. \bar{ie} (non-WS. \bar{e}), as in *stiel*, *beliefe*, *believe*, *hiere* 'hear,' *hiere* 'here,' *shield*, etc., or OFr. *e* (from Latin *a*), as in *pier*, *clier*, etc.; OFr. *ie* (which in Anglo-Norman was reduced to the monophthong \bar{e}), as in *chief*, *grief*, *grieve*, *matiere*, *chiere*, etc. Now, all of these correspondents, it is a well-established fact, were close sounds, so that the conclusion is irresistible that *ie* in Chaucer had the phonetic value of close \bar{e} .

The question now naturally arises, How came it that Chaucer used the symbol with the phonetic value of close \bar{e} when, as has been shown, Orm., Layamon, and the author of Ancren Riwe employed it rarely or not at all? In other words, What is the source of Chaucer's *ie*? Is it due to Kentish influence or to French influence? It has been shown that *ie* occurred very frequently in Kentish, in both early and late Middle English times. In early Kentish *ie* doubtless had the value of a diphthong, but in late Kentish it probably lost this diphthongal quality. The *i* in early Kentish at least seems to have been regarded as a kind of glide which was developed before the old diphthong *eo*, and occasionally even before *ea* and *e*, as in *ihierde*, *hyer*, etc. Sweet (cf. History of English Sounds, §§659, 683) thinks that this *ie* or *je* points to an intermediate *jæ*. Now, it is quite possible that this *ie* is the source of Chaucer's *ie*. Of course, words introduced at a later date from the French may

very well have reinforced the native stock. When we consider the facts that this *ie* is confined almost exclusively to the Kentish dialect and to that of Chaucer, and that the Ancren Riwe, which shows a decidedly French coloring in its spelling, exhibits few or no cases of the *ie* (= phonetic *ē*), and that the OFr. diphthong *ie*¹ was gradually during the 12th century reduced to the monophthong *e*,² the theory of French influence appears obviously untenable. On the theory of French influence we could explain very well words of French origin exhibiting *ie*, but this theory seems entirely inadequate to the explanation of words of pure English origin, such as *lief*, *friend*, *hier*, *stiel*, *whiel*, *hierd*, *weird*, *belief*, *believe*, *shield*, *wield*, etc. The facts in the case seem, then, to warrant the theory of Kentish influence reinforced by French.

We have thus far shown that the old AS. *ie* was reduced to a monophthong in late West Saxon and early Middle English; that another *ie* arose in the Kentish dialect from the combination of the glide *i* (*j*) with AS. *eo*, *ē*, etc.; that this *ie*, which in late Kentish probably lost its diphthongal quality, must have been extended to the dialect of Chaucer, but only with the value of close *ē*; and that this *ie* was in all probability reinforced by the OFr. *ie* in words introduced from the Continent in late ME. times. It now remains, first, to show somewhat in detail that this occasional way of writing close *ē* continued from the 14th century on and did not fall entirely into disuse, and, secondly, to indicate briefly the subsequent history of this *ie*, which is really identical with that of close *ē*. Attention is drawn to the first point especially, because of what appears to be a somewhat misleading statement occurring in Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation* (cf. p. 104). He says: "*Ie* in the middle of words was employed in the 14th century indiscriminately with *e* or *ee*, but not very frequently. In the 15th and 16th centuries it had fallen out of use, though we find it fully established with the modern sound of (*ii*) in the 17th century, in which is included also the word *friend*, as already noted (p. 80)." Now, these words are a trifle infelicitous, because the natural inference is that *ie* was

¹ See Schwan, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*,² §§76, 91.

² See Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache* (Pauls Grundriss, I, p. 817, §33); Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England* (*Französischen Studien*, V 2), pp. 84, 146 seq.; and A. Sturmfels, *Der altfranzösische Vokalismus im Mittellenglischen bis zum Jahre 1400* (*Anglia*, VIII, p. 201 seq.).

not at all used during the 15th and 16th centuries. It must be borne in mind, of course, that *ie* even in the 14th-century texts never occurred frequently; it was only of sporadic occurrence at best. We cannot, therefore, expect to find it in the 15th and 16th centuries occurring with anything like regularity, for during this period English spelling was in a very chaotic condition; it was entirely unsettled and there was no norm. It was not until the 17th century that English spelling became fixed and crystallized, and then it was that the vacillating *ie* was established. An examination of some of the texts of the period in question, however, warrants the conclusion that *ie* did not fall entirely into disuse, but was employed—though rarely, of course—just as in the 14th century.

For the 15th century the texts examined are: An Old English Chronicle of the Reign of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI,¹ which was written about 1471, Lydgate, and Caxton's translations. In the former occur such examples of *ie* as the following: *chief*, pp. 22, 28, 42, 48, 66 (year 1441), 65 (year 1450), 80, etc.; *myschief*, pp. 47, 60 (year 1450); *liege*, p. 71 (year 1454); *liegeman*, pp. 82, 86, 98; *relief*, p. 88 (year 1460); *chiefteyne*, p. 43; *chiere* (= *cheer*), p. 41; *pieris* (= *peers*), p. 18; *archiers*, pp. 36, 44, etc.; *matiers*, p. 89; *squier*, pp. 22, 29, 35, 36, 58, 63, 66, 67, 89, 107, etc.; *soudiers*, p. 39; *aliened*, p. 68; *lieutenant*, p. 41, etc. Lydgate and Caxton exhibit likewise such examples as *pyece*, *nyece*, *siege*, *fiersness*, *fyerce*, *fyersly*, *tyerce*, *fliese* (= *fleece*), *chyere* (= *cheer*), *gryeve*, *pyeres* (= *peers*), *myschief*, *prief*, *chief*, *lief*, *stiel*, *wiel*, etc.

For the 16th century all the writers in general were examined, as William Ray, J. Barlow (1528), Surrey, Wiat, Sackville, Udall, Latimer, Roger Ascham, Gosson, Tottel's Miscellany, Spenser, etc. In all of these writers examples of *ie* occur, as *thief*, *priest*, *piece*, *friend*, *fierce*, *field*, *shield*, *chief*, *grief*, *brief*, *relief*, *diep*, *lief*, *chiere*, *lieftenaunt*, *wiers*, *yield*, *wield*, *vieuw*, *believe*, *achieve*, *shriek*, *prief*, *shrieve*, *reprieve*, *prieve*, *liege*, etc. Now, it is to be observed, however, that this spelling is not at all regular, as it was not in the 14th century. It is merely employed as an occasional way of writing close *ē*, except toward the end of the 16th century, when the *ie* in certain words occurs quite regularly. Spenser, for example, writes with remarkable regularity *field*, *shield*, *fierce*, *yield*, *wield*, *grief*, *shriek*, etc. The *ie* in these

¹ Found in the Camden Society Publications, 1856.

words was not, however, fixed till the middle of the next century. Price's writing (1668) shows the *ie* established,¹ which has continued to the present. He writes *believe*, *besiege*, *bier*, *brief*, *cavalier*, *cashier*, *chief*, [*field*, *fiend*, *fierce*,] *friend*, *frontier*, [*grieve*,] *kerchief*, [*lief*,] *liege*, *niece*, *piece*, *pierce*, [*priest*,] [*shield*,] *siege*, *sieve*, *thief*, *view*, *yield*, etc.

Now, some of these words, such as *niece*, *piece*, *tier*, *fief*, *siege*, etc., were doubtless influenced by the French, while others, such as *friend*, *fiend*, *believe*, *field*, *wield*, *yield*,² etc., probably represent the retention of the old traditional Kentish spelling. Such a word as *bier* (cf. AS. *bær*, ME. *bēr*) may have arisen from confusion with the OFr. *bierre*, as Sturmfels³ suggests, somewhat like the Mod. English *hair*, which, according to Luick (cf. *Anglia*, 14, 456), arose from the association of AS. *hær*, ME. *hēr*, with the OFr. *haire*. By the side of *reprieve*, from ME. *reprêve*, from the French, exists the later-formed *reprove*, while the ME. *remêve* has been supplanted entirely by the new *remove*. Of course, the word *friend* in early Modern English underwent the process of shortening.

It is quite obvious, then, that *ie* did not fall entirely into disuse during the 15th and 16th centuries. On the contrary, it has been shown that it was of almost as frequent occurrence during this period as in the 14th century, during which time it was merely of sporadic occurrence. A reference to the table subjoined at the end will show this quite clearly.

The *ie* became identified with the close *ē* in Middle English, as was shown, and its subsequent history is identical with that of the latter sound. This close *ē*, which in Middle English had the phonetic value of a long mid-front-narrow vowel, in the latter part of the 15th century or the early part of the 16th was raised, in a few words such as *bee*, *beere*, *peere*, *fee*, *he*, *she*,⁴ etc., to a very close *ī*-like sound, probably the high-front-narrow position.

¹ The writing with *ie* was not established in all the words in which it was of occasional occurrence during the 15th and 16th centuries. Witness, for example, *fliese*, *pyere* (= *peer*), *stiel* (= *steel*), *chyere* (= *cheer*), etc. Some few words whose prototypes do not belong to this category came to be written with *ie*, as *shriek*, ME. *shriken* < Icel. *skrikja*; *sieve*, ME. *sive*, *sife* < AS. *sife*. This last word, however, has undergone the process of shortening.

² The vowel in these words is entitled to its long quantity by virtue of the process of lengthening before *ld* in Middle English.

³ See *Anglia*, 8, p. 217.

⁴ See Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, I, p. 77, Palsgrave (1530).

The Middle English *ȓ*, which formerly occupied this last-named position, had of course been diphthonged. Later, during the 17th century, *ee* was raised, in all words, to this high-front-narrow *ii* (ME. *ȓ*). This high-front-narrow value *ee* still continued to retain throughout the 18th century and during the early part of the 19th, when, under the general tendency of all long vowels towards diphthongization, according to Sweet, it became a diphthong (*ij*).¹

In conclusion I give a brief summary of what I believe to be the result of the foregoing investigation:—

1. The old WS. diphthongs *ȓe* and *ie*, which in late West Saxon were generally reduced to close monophthongs, did not survive in Middle English.

2. A new *ie*-diphthong arose in early Middle English in the Kentish dialect, which later was reduced to a monophthong. This *ie* was confined in early Middle English almost exclusively to the Kentish, but later was employed by Chaucer and other ME. writers, as an equivalent of the ME. close *ē*-vowel. This native *ie* of Kentish origin was reinforced in late Middle English by French words introduced from the Continent.

3. The *ie* did not fall into disuse during the 15th and 16th centuries, but was used, as in late Middle English, merely as an occasional way of writing close *ē*. About the middle of the 17th century the *ie* became established in those words in which it appears in present English.

4. Being identical with close (*ee*), *ie* at the time of its establishment in the language had the phonetic value of (*ii*)—that is, of a long high-front-narrow vowel. This value it retained till the present century, when, under the general tendency of all long vowels towards diphthongization, it developed into the diphthong (*ij*). *Ie* has therefore returned to something like its primitive diphthongal value.

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¹ A detailed proof of the history of the close *ee* in English having been previously given by me, it did not seem advisable to do more than to indicate this, for the sake of completeness, in the above outline sketch.

TABLE SHOWING THE INTRODUCTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF *ie* FOR CLOSE (*ee*) IN MODERN ENGLISH.

	CHAUCER.		15TH CENT. WRITERS.		EARLY 16TH CENT. WRITERS.		SPENSER.		MINSHAW.		PRICE. 1688.
	Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	Usual.	Rare.	1617.		
achieve	achieve	achieve	achieve		achieve	achieve	achieve	believe	believe	bier	believe
believe	believe		believe		believe	believe	believe		believe	brief	
bere			beere		beere		bier		beere	briefe	bier
briefe	briefe		briefe	briefe	brief	brief	brief	breefe	briefe	brief	brief
chefe	chefe		chefe	chiefe	chief	chief	chief	chefe	chefe	chief	chief
feelde	feelde		felde		felde	field	field	feld	field	field	[field]
feende	feende		feende		feend	feend	feend	feend	feend	feend	[feend]
fers	ferce		ferce		ferce	ferce	ferce	ferce	ferce	ferce	[ferce]
freende	friende		frende		friend	friend	friend	friend	friend	friend	friend
grefe	griefe		greve	greyve	greve	grieve	friend	friend	friend	friend	grief
keverchef	coverchief		keverchef	kyrchef	kercher		griefe	greewe	greewe	griefe	kerchief
leef (leve)	lief		leve		lefe	lief	lief	leef		kerchief	
[lege]			lege	liege	lege		liege		liege		[lief]
necce			necce	nyece		neyce				liege	liege
pece			pece	pyece	pece		peece	piece	peece	piece	piece
percen	pierce		perce		perce	pierce	perce	pierce	perce	perce	perce
prest			prest	relief	prest	priest	priest	pierce	priest	priest	[priest]
releve			relief		relief	relief	relief		relief		[relief]
repreve			repreve	prief	repreve	reprieve	repreve	reprieve	reprieve		[reprieve]
sheld	shield		sheld	shield	sheeld	shield	shield	sheld	sheeld	shield	[shield]
sege	siege		sege	siege	sege	besege	siege	siege	siege	siege	siege
theef	thief		thefe		theefe	thief	thief	theef	theefe	theef	thief
welde	wiede		welde		welde	wiede	wield	weld		wield	[wield]
yelde	yiede		yelde		yield	yield	yield	yeld	yeeld	yield	yield